

NEWS MEDIA

ABSTRACT: The news media informs, challenges, questions, and aggravates. It affects the way we look at domestic and foreign policy and shapes our view of events and our ability to address the problems of the world. It is part of the national security structure of our country without being a formal part of the government.

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PLACES VISITED

Domestic

ABC News, New York, NY; Washington, DC
America Online, Reston, VA
Armed Forces Journal International, Washington, DC
Associated Press, Washington, DC; New York, NY
Bloomberg News, New York, NY
Brill's Content, New York, NY
Chief of Public Affairs, U.S. Navy, Washington DC
Columbia University, Graduate School of Journalism, New York, NY
CNN, Washington, DC
Fox News, New York, NY
Freedom Forum (Newseum), Arlington, VA
National Public Radio, Washington, DC
Nielsen Media Research, New York, NY
The New York Times, New York, NY
USA Today, Arlington, VA
U.S. News and World Report, New York, NY; Washington DC
The Wall Street Journal, New York, NY
The Washington Times, Washington, DC

International

Adevarul (Pro-government daily), Bucharest, Romania
BBC World Service, London, England
Bursa (Business Daily), Bucharest, Romania
British Ministry of Defence, London, England
Center for Independent Journalism, Media Roundtable, Bucharest, Romania
The Economist, London, England
Evenimentul Zilei (Opposition Daily), Bucharest, Romania
Financial Times, London, England
The Guardian, London, England
Hungarian (National) Radio, Budapest, Hungary
Independent Television News (ITN), London, England
Magyar Radio (Hungarian National Public Radio), Budapest, Hungary
Media Roundtable, Budapest, Hungary
Nepszabadsag (Hungarian Daily Newspaper), Budapest, Hungary
Parliament Committee Staffer, Bucharest, Romania
Presidential Spokeswomen, Bucharest Romania
Pro TV (Independent Station), Bucharest, Romania
Radio Romania, Bucharest, Romania
Romanian Military Museum, Bucharest, Romania
Sky News, Islesworth, England
Slager Radio, Budaors, Hungary
The Times, London, England
TV2, Budapest, Hungary

Introduction

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, or to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

First Amendment of the United States Constitution

The news media play a key role in our society by promoting discussion and educating the public about significant issues. By understanding the issues, the people are able to make more informed and rational decisions in daily life and in governing a free and democratic nation. As a result, a free press is critical to the security of the country, the health of the economy and the prosperity of the people. Recognizing those attributes necessary for a free country, in 1791 the nation's leaders ratified the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, which guarantees its people the freedom to voice their opinions verbally, or through any medium that can be construed as the press.

Today's press is significantly different from that of the founding fathers. Nearly instant access to news, information and opinion is available 24 hours a day in an increasing variety of formats and delivery methods. Technological advances have turned what was once a vast world into a global village. Improvements in communications capabilities have had a tremendous impact on the way journalists do their business, and consequently on the way people consume their products. From the invention of the printing press, to the telegraph, to the personal computer, to portable satellite systems, journalists have steadily brought more news to us faster and faster.

In addition to providing information faster, technological advances have also complicated how our society stays informed and the quality of information that it consumes. The public expects and relies on news that is balanced, accurate and fair. Most journalists will tell you that their intentions are good, but new challenges regarding the news media are constantly emerging that impact the objectivity, and even the authenticity of today's information, such as:

- Consolidation of news organizations, which has the potential to significantly influence the objectivity of news reporting and the credibility of news sources.
- Networks are under increasing pressure to make a profit on their news shows - this was not the case ten years ago. Since the major source of income for most networks comes from advertising, this new dynamic raises the question, "Will news that adversely affects an advertiser be reported objectively, or at all?"
- Pressure on competing news organizations to "be first with the story." Has this reduced the accuracy of information presented to the public?
- A news media industry that is a powerful force in shaping national and worldwide opinion. If the news media are the world's watchdog, how can society protect itself from abuse of this power?

Throughout the past five months, the News Media Industry Study examined these and other issues through study, media visits, panel discussions, and visits to news organizations in the United States and Europe. This document presents the consolidated findings of our team of sixteen regarding the present and future of this fascinating industry.

The News Media Industry Defined

Even though the press is not the fourth branch of government in foreign policy matters, by getting the story it plays an essential role in informing its readers what is going on and how things came out. Foreign policies can fail with or without a free press. A free press, however, informs both the public and attentive public officials on the status of policies in meeting their goals.

Nicholas O. Berry, *Foreign Policy and the Press*

Today's news comes from many sources. Newspapers, network television, radio broadcasts, and news magazines continue to deliver the news to the masses as it has throughout the last fifty years. However, these choices have been expanded to include 24-hour cable news networks, new television broadcast networks, public radio networks, and the Internet. Many news sources have become specialized. There are sports news networks, financial news networks, and magazines for every imaginable interest and niche.

News comes in an increasing variety of formats and depths of coverage. There are brief, punchy news sources such as *CNN Headline News* and *USA Today*. Newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and *New York Times*, news magazines, and television shows like *60 Minutes*, *Dateline*, and *20/20*, provide more in-depth coverage and analysis. Radio also has a variety of news formats and depth of coverage. Finally, an ever-increasing number of news sources maintain active web sites with live audio feed, up to the minute news coverage, or duplication of printed material.

Perhaps the most significant development in the news industry is the increasing level of consolidation within the news media industry. Following a decade of unprecedented deal making and acquisitions, nine massive media corporations dominate the U.S. supply of books, periodicals, movies, videos, music, radio, television, and Internet service. These companies include AT&T/Liberty Media, America Online (AOL) - Time Warner, Disney/ABC, Viacom/CBS, Bertelsmann, Sony, News Corp, Vivendi/Seagram, and General Electric/NBC. These top nine conglomerates account for 7.4 percent of America's gross domestic product (GDP). Even disregarding the largest, *Liberty Media*®, an equity holding company for AT&T, the industry still increased at the respectable rate of 14.1 percent annually since 1996. That's an increase of over four times the annual rate of inflation. Remarkably, these gains have come during a period of overall US economic decline.¹ If the media industry continues to increase revenues at this pace, earnings will exceed a trillion dollars by the year 2010.

After the merger of media giants, AOL and Time Warner, reporter Michael Kinsley called the new media interconnections "an agglutination of all telecommunications, media, technology and cinnamon-bun businesses into one sticky, tangled mess." He observed that he is writing for Time Magazine, which is part of AOL-Time Warner. However, he also has a day job as editor of "Slate," a publication of Microsoft, which owns on-line service MSN, which competes with AOL. He further observed that although Microsoft and AOL/Time Warner have competing interests in cable, both are co-investors in the high-speed Internet access company, "Road Runner," and that Microsoft owns a piece of AT&T, which owns a chunk of Time Warner.²

Although this consolidation of news media companies may contribute to industrial efficiency, this development is not necessarily good for a democracy. Any movement towards a monopoly of information means that there are fewer watchdogs providing diverse views and opinions.

The Current Condition of the News Media

Competition and Objectivity

The news industry today is driven by competition - for consumers and for advertisers. Years ago, television network news programs were insulated from concerns about income and generating profit. Their job was to present the news - fairly, accurately and in a balanced fashion. Network news shows actually generated a net financial loss for the company. According to veteran news anchors, two developments changed the focus of network news to generating profit. First, was the commercial viability of the news magazine shows, starting with *60 Minutes*. Second, since companies merge to enhance profit, unprofitable business areas are routinely sold, streamlined, or eliminated. This new pressure on the news media to generate a profit has created problems for an industry that was founded to inform and serve the people. According to a major network anchor, "Where the news feels the impact of mergers is financial."

Television news is not alone in feeling the profitability pinch. Print media are also fighting for readers and advertising dollars. Financial concerns resonate throughout the news media industry as consumers gather information from a variety of sources and readership numbers decline each year. Pressure to generate profit has changed the content, style, and quality of the news. More than ever, questions are surfacing regarding ethical news reporting. For example, how would a news provider present unfavorable information regarding the product of a major advertiser? Similarly, how would a news source report damaging information on a business within the same conglomerate? According to recent surveys, the pressure is already being felt on the newsroom floor. About one-quarter of journalists have purposely avoided newsworthy stories and nearly as many admit softening their tone to benefit interests of their news organization. Forty-one percent admit to engaging in either or both of these practices. The poll indicated widespread concern among the media regarding market pressures and lack of audience appeal. More than six in ten investigative journalists believe that corporate owners exert a fair amount of business pressure on editorial decisions. Even journalists see themselves as doing a poor job of informing the public.³

Competition to be the first source to deliver the news challenges the credibility of the news media. Confirming information through multiple sources in order to ensure its accuracy takes time. Today's deadline is right now. Most news sources have on-line services that pump out news continuously throughout the day and night. An extra few minutes can mean the difference between being first with the story, and losing bragging rights and potential advertising revenue. Errors in stories on Internet news services are becoming increasingly common. Often, errors are corrected within minutes, but in general, no retraction is formally published. The story is simply revised.

These factors combine to produce a credibility deficit within the news media. This is confirmed by consumer confidence polls that consistently show the news media ranking in the bottom fourth of all institutions on trustworthiness.⁴

Consumer Trends

The news media are in a state of transition. The public has more options for collecting their news than ever before, and their news consumption habits are becoming more diverse. Viewer ratings of some news sources, such as broadcast and cable news, are declining while others, such as the Internet, are increasing dramatically.

A study conducted from May 1993 through April 2000 showed that most people got their news from local TV, newspapers, and network news. The data also showed a significant decline in consumption in these media over the seven-year period. As a percentage of people who regularly watch, read or listen to a news source, local TV news declined from 77 to 56 percent, while the nightly network news viewers dropped from 60 to 30 percent. As the falloff in broadcast news occurred, Internet news consumption rose from its first documented survey level of 20 percent in 1998 to 33 percent in 2000.⁵

The kind of news we like to receive has changed too. Globalization and technology have made it simpler and faster to receive world news. These realities should reflect an increase in international news coverage, however the data is surprising. With the exception of the wire services and a few major newspapers, almost every news organization in the U.S. has cut back the number of foreign correspondents and foreign bureaus.⁶ The big three American television networks have been slashing foreign coverage for more than a decade. Following the cold war, most news programming, including CNN's, emphasizes events within America's borders.⁷ The American public is less interested in foreign news. What links the Americans to world events today is neither the threat of military clash nor traditional political divisions, but cultural and social events. Our lack of interest in foreign affairs has forced a decline in international news coverage. According to the Tyndall report, an independent media monitoring organization, nightly news coverage of overseas stories on the major television networks has declined by nearly 50 percent in the last decade.⁸ In August of 1998, CNN halved its daily international news broadcast to thirty minutes.⁹ Consequently, the majority of the American public has little knowledge and a very limited framework for evaluating international crises. This puts the burden on US policy-makers and the media to generate discussion and educate the public when conflict or humanitarian crises erupt and the nature of US involvement must be decided.

The news media serve two classical functions. News media provide citizens with an understanding of governmental decisions and actions, and provide a forum for discussion between the policymakers and the public. These functions must continue to form the pillars of the news media industry. The media must continually act under the assumption that its audience is a rational and intelligent democratic citizenry that is strongly motivated to consume relevant and timely information. It must also be cognizant of its ability to become the potential decisive factor in the formulation or assessment of policy initiatives, particularly in circumstances where consensus is unclear. Ironically, as the media industry becomes more consolidated, the medias' roles—and the challenges facing it to accommodate those roles—become more pronounced.

Challenges

Free speech is free as long as you can find somebody to pay first

Editor of a major newspaper's Internet news service

Rapidly changing technology, industry consolidation, diversification of news products, financial pressures, and cutthroat competition for audience all combine to generate tremendous challenges within the news media industry. Interestingly, the Industry Study group encountered news media professionals describing the same challenges across all the different forms of news media as well as across national borders.

Ethical Journalism

The pressure to "be the first to break the story" presents a journalistic dilemma that may subjugate ethics and credibility to speed. In fact, according to the publisher of a major magazine, "The great bias of news reporters is to further their own careers." For example, the Associated Press and other media outlets published an account of an intentional massacre of civilians near the Korean town of No Gun Ri, relying on the testimony of Edward L. Daly. Daly claimed to be one of the machine gunners who participated in the gruesome attack—an attack he claimed was launched on orders of his battalion commander. The only problem was, Daly was not there.¹⁰ While Daly was not the sole source for their story, no journalist verified the accuracy of the sources before printing the story.

If the media are society's watchdogs, the challenge for the news media industry is to determine who is watching the watchdog and how effective the oversight is in a self-policing industry. According to the publisher of a major magazine, "The media is too important an institution not to conduct an honest, critical assessment of its work."

Credibility

Credibility is a journalist's most precious asset. If published information is dubious, it's not worth reading. In most instances, particularly in the mainstream press, journalists confirm information through at least two independent sources or they don't publish it. However, the ability to put news in front of the consumer almost instantly may be changing the standard from "Better right than first" to "Never wrong for long." According to our discussions with dot-com news organizations, the public is becoming more understanding of errors published in breaking news, particularly on the Internet.

Most news organizations are publicly held organizations. How does that fact affect coverage in balance with new pressures to keep earnings going up? Are the news media concerned with unbiased, accurate reporting more than meeting the demands of big advertisers? According to a recent national poll taken by the Freedom Forum, nearly nine out of ten people felt that advertisers have too much control of the news media agenda. Regarding accurate and unbiased reporting, in 1985, fifty-five percent of Americans believed the news media reported the facts accurately most of the time. Today, the figure is down to only 37 percent.¹¹

Technology

Tremendous advances in both computer and communications technologies have made possible newly efficient ways of distributing greater quantities of needed information. With all the talk of the impact of the Internet on the news media industry, one recurring theme resounded in every news agency that we visited. Nobody has figured out how to make the Internet profitable. As previously stated, almost every news source maintains an active web site, but the struggle to achieve profitability on an Internet news site is a universal problem.

There is growing consensus that the news media will become increasingly interactive. New technology that enables viewers to have news and entertainment on demand, or provides selectivity based on viewing habits is just around the corner. Developments such as TIVO, which allows a user to record programs or even topics of interest (without advertising), have the potential to make every consumer his or her own editor. Will this new technology serve to confirm a person's own predispositions and reduce one's exposure to diverging opinions? It seems almost inevitable that news consumers will watch what they want, when and where they want it.

Newsroom Diversity

According to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 42 percent of the nation's newspapers have white reporters only, mostly white men. Farai Chideya, a correspondent for ABC News and author of "The Color of Our Future" said it best: "An all white newsroom is not incompetent. It is however, incomplete.... If America's newsrooms are not fully integrated, we will miss important stories, contacts and perspectives."¹² An equal challenge is getting more women into the newsrooms. At a time when diversity is a critical theme for America at large, it is also a challenge for the news media industry.

OUTLOOK

Strategic planning in the news industry is like trying to change a tire on a moving vehicle. Due to rapidly changing technology, we have no idea what the industry will look like five years from now. How can we plan for that?

A British Television Business Development Executive

Changes in communications technology have had a dramatic effect on the news media industry. Over the last decade, news is available to more people, faster, through more outlets than ever before. In fact, no other industry has implemented new technology with more of an impact on people's daily lives than that of the news media. Throughout the semester, several themes emerged in our many discussions with news industry insiders.

Print Media verses the Internet and New Technologies

Nearly every newspaper and magazine that we visited maintained an active web site. This was true not only in the United States, but also in developing democracies in Eastern Europe. Almost universally, each organization held the following thoughts regarding their web site:

- It is not making money for us yet, and we aren't sure how to get money out of it.
- If we don't provide on-line service, then we'll be behind when everybody else figures out how to make it profitable.
- The web service provides us visibility of people's interests by showing what pages they visit most often, and for how long.

New methods of delivering information are, inevitably accompanied by predictions of the demise of former methods. People believed that television was certain to kill off the radio industry just as they believe the Internet will certainly kill the printed media industry. We believe the printing presses are not in immediate danger of becoming scrap metal. The change for printed material to some form of portable electronic presentation seems inevitable, but the change will be evolutionary, not revolutionary.

The introduction of a new form of media does not negate the value of an existing system. Each segment of the industry seems to add value and context to the others.

- Breaking news sources such as cable news, news radio, Internet news outlets and wire services bring events to our attention as they happen.
- Daily newspapers and weekly magazines provide more in-depth coverage, analysis, and context.

The value of a diverse news industry was clearly illustrated during an interview with a seasoned international television correspondent. When asked why television did not bring the Rwanda crisis to the attention of the world before it became a genocide event, the correspondent explained that, "Television is good at showing what is happening, but not good at showing what is about to happen. It is a visual media. Paper and radio do this better."

It seems that the evolution of the news media will continue with radio, television, print and Internet sources each filling parts of the of the news consumer's daily diet. New technology may improve access and transportability of information, even allowing the user to select events and topics of interest and discard the rest. But, we thinks that news consumers will continue to rely on multiple forms of news media.

International News Coverage

In an era of globalization, strategic thinkers remain aware of events as they occur worldwide. As citizens, companies and governments become more interconnected and interdependent, the insulating effects of geography and distance break down. Increasingly, events in one country are felt in other countries with increasing speed and severity. If this is true, why are Americans disinterested in international affairs? As

previously mentioned, international news bureaus have been slashed across the industry. International coverage on network news is half of what it was ten years ago. According to a major network anchor, “Giving the American people international news is like telling them to eat their spinach.” Most Americans are just not interested – for now.

During times of international instability, a more worldly view of the news comes to the forefront. Coverage during major conflicts such as world wars and the Gulf War demonstrate the public interest when it directly affects them. After the Cold War, there is no major physical threat to the American people. Predictably, they retracted into more local self-interests. Europeans are more interested in each other’s news because European events affect them all. Eventually, a globalized world will draw the attention of the American people as global events increasingly affect people’s daily lives.

Ethics and News Reporting

The news media today balances the interests of the shareholders and advertising dollars, with reporting accurate and reliable information to the citizen. Compounding the problem are nine vertically integrated conglomerates that control everything we watch, hear, or read. Under the protection of the First Amendment, the American news media has historically been a self-policing industry. The new dynamics of corporate consolidation and profit incentive have introduced new challenges in ensuring that the news media continue to serve the citizen first, and shareholders second. Media watchdog organizations such as the Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) and the media critical magazine, *Brill’s Content*, are making efforts to ensure that the media remain as unbiased as possible. A summary of the essay, *The Newspaper Citizen, Advertising, and Shareholders—Balancing Priorities Under the Internet Umbrella*, follows and examines some of these issues in more detail.

Government: Goals and Roles

Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

Thomas Jefferson

We had the opportunity to pulse news media industry leaders –editors, broadcasters, journalists, ethicists, etc. – and without exception, they see the government’s role in the news media as focused on ensuring the continuation of civil liberties and a vibrant economy. They view deregulation and the government’s move toward an even greater “hands-off” approach as good for “business.” Yet, many of those same industry leaders express concern for the consolidations and mergers that deregulation spawned. They fear that the potential exists for loss of editorial and reporting independence as corporations increasingly focus on the “bottom line.” Their fear for society is the loss of plurality and diversity of media viewpoints, as an inevitable outcome of consolidation.

Many of the industry leaders and experts with whom we visited are among the news media’s harshest critics. Many made it clear that the industry could and should do more to police itself, but not one proposed or even hinted at the prospect of the government

providing education, credentialing, or oversight. In fact, when we broached that topic, the response was uniformly that the First Amendment would never support government intervention in that manner. Accordingly, if there is to be an ethical and professional credentialing or licensing push, its genesis must come from within the industry and not by way of the government.

However, despite critical self-examination and round condemnation of the news media's shortcomings as an institution, the industry fares pretty well when the "compared to what?" question is asked. One well known anchor treated us to a brief study in political science when he told us that "[t]here are three kinds of entities under which journalism operates, the theocracy such as Iran, the dictatorship as represented by North Korea and Iraq, and the free market such as the U.S. Of the three, the least intrusive form of government from the perspective of a free and independent news media is the market form. You don't have to worry about having the government coming to you and making demands that a story or event be reported or not, or an event spun in one way and not in another. All things considered, warts and all, the U.S. does the business of news better than most, and far better than the two alternative forms of government." The government assists the news media industry best by ensuring the continuation of a strong democratic republic.

The Media and the Military

We queried the same media leaders and experts for their advice concerning improved military-media and government-media relations. Without hesitation, the advice repeated time and again was for military and government leaders and spokesperson's "[t]o tell the truth and tell it quickly." As one renowned reporter known for his "in your face" reporting style cautioned us, "[h]eaven help you if you ever lie to us [the press] and we find out about it because we will make your life a living hell."

The news media industry is very conscious that the number of reporters with military experience and the number of reporters who even know someone with military experience is rapidly dwindling. Cognizant of this fact, military leaders must assume the burden of developing rapport and educating those reporters responsible for covering the military beat. It all comes down to the formation of a trust relationship, and as nervous as that may make many military and government leaders, the press is not going to go away. A veteran military correspondent advised, "If you find that a reporter has inaccurately reported a story that impacts your organization, pick up the phone and invite him over to talk. Use the error as an opportunity to educate, develop rapport, and increase the likelihood that the reporter will seek your insights before he or she files the next story on your organization." It sounds like common sense, but we were struck by the number of anecdotes of military and government leaders who did not exercise good "people-sense" or even good judgment in dealing with the press.

Government Assistance Programs

Governments, for the most part, concentrate on funding media assistance efforts and making media assistance needs known to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that supply the training, equipment, and technical expertise to developing democracies.

Since the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, millions of dollars have been spent to encourage the development of independent news media throughout the world, with emphasis placed on emerging democracies in central and eastern Europe. A more detailed overview of this significant effort is included in an individual paper at the end of this group report.

During our travels through Romania and Hungary, we spoke with a number of journalists, broadcasters and editors who have personally benefited from these programs. They are making a significant difference by pushing for change in repressive press laws that exist in these countries, and striving for more transparency in government. While we were encouraged by the progress being made in these developing democracies, there is still much work to be done.

When asked about the role of the United States government in this development, one national newspaper editor said, "I think the U.S. has it about right. The government, your State Department, provides the funding, then gets out of the way, and lets the U.S. media and the universities provide the training, expertise, and experience with no strings attached. We, in turn, bring what we learn back to our respective countries and put it into practice. Yes, that's about right."

Conclusion

The news media industry is changing rapidly under the influences of corporate mergers, profit motive, advancing technology, and the Internet. News consumers enjoy an increasingly wide variety of news outlets and formats. Real time news coverage is becoming standard reporting practice. Portable electronic gadgets that collect, process and display news, as specified by the consumer, will undoubtedly become prevalent in delivering the news to tomorrow's consumer.

With these new developments and opportunities come challenges. Retaining an unbiased and accurate news industry will be difficult in the face of pressures brought by corporate interests and profit incentive. Although there have been some encouraging developments in the news industry's effort to promote accurate and ethical reporting, this will continue to be a major challenge for future journalists. It is clear that under the protection of the First Amendment, the government should maintain its hands-off approach with respect to regulating content, newsroom ethics, and reporting standards. As a result, the drive to protect the news from biased and inaccurate information will increasingly fall on the consumer. Letters to the editor, opposing editorials, and feedback to news stations and advertisers may become the weapons in the next battle for free a press.

Since the news media is the primary source of information to most Americans, it helps form the basis of public opinion. Although not a specific element of national power, the news media plays a major role in national security, the country's economic prosperity and the welfare of its citizens. We, as leaders in the 21st century, must recognize these realities and engage the media in support of our organization's strategic objectives. In the words of a major U.S. newspaper editor, "You may not be able to control a news story, but you can certainly influence it."

ESSAYS ON MAJOR ISSUES

The Newspaper Citizen, Advertising, and Shareholders—Balancing Priorities Under the Internet Umbrella

In the early days of printing, the press was a means of individual expression, comment, and criticism. It wasn't big business or an industry concerned with profits. It served to spread new ideas to as many people as possible.¹³ As time passed, it evolved into a profitable industry capable of manipulating, guiding, or even establishing public opinion. Like most businesses, it answered to stockholders and had to generate profits. Today, veteran journalists believe journalism is at its lowest point ever in pursuit of advertising dollars and dwindling subscriptions.

The Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) is an initiative by journalists concerned about standards within the news media. Part of Columbia University Graduate School for Journalism, the project began as an effort balancing competing priorities of audience, money, and profits. Imbedded within PEJ are nine accepted principles. The PEJ prioritized loyalty to the citizen above that of the shareholders and the advertisers that keeps it in business.¹⁴ I contend, in today's economic environment, prioritizing the citizen above that of advertisers and shareholders is impossible and in some cases not done at all.

The newspaper is a business that lives under the economic laws of supply and demand. If the demand for a particular newspaper diminishes so does the need to produce it (supply) and thus the advertising dollars to support it. So, if the primary concern is loyalty to the citizen how does this balance with the survival of the newspaper? I don't believe it does—it can't. Editors today spend the majority of their time plotting strategies with their counterparts in advertising, marketing, and circulation to produce news that will target the interests of women, younger readers, suburbanites, and the affluent.¹⁵ This clearly establishes a conflict between the needs of the newspaper and the needs of the citizen.

Newspapers must deal with economic realities. The *Washington Post*, for example, sells its papers for 25 cents while it costs considerably more to produce it. Advertising dollars make up the difference and more.¹⁶ The newspaper essentially rents their readership's loyalty to the advertisers. What readers see as content, sponsors see as context in which their ads appear. If readership declines, so will advertising dollars, and ultimately the paper itself. Preserving advertising dollars is the economic foundation. Citizen loyalty will only go as far as advertising dollars supporting the paper. The journalist's allegiance to the citizen and public as a whole above any other may be intact. But, newspaper decision-makers can't overlook marketing realities. If advertisers drive advertisement dollars, we can only assume advertisers influence reporting.

There is clearly a conflict placing the loyalty to the citizen over that of the shareholder. When I refer to shareholder, I also mean actions of the boss or CEO that work for the

shareholder. Power shapes the news. Where that power comes from and its impact is very important. Surveys of journalists found they experience pressure from powerful interests, outside and inside the news business, to push some stories and ignore others.¹⁷ The sources are numerous but imbedded is a common theme of survival of the company—the protection of the shareholder. “In a Pew Center for the People & the Press poll of 287 reporters, editors and news executives, about one-third of respondents said that the news that would “hurt the financial interests” of the media organization or an advertiser goes unreported. Forty-one percent said they themselves have avoided stories, or softened their tone, to benefit their media company’s interests.”¹⁸ Clearly, the poll highlights the loyalty of the citizen is not paramount. Should this surprise us? I say no and that is why PEJ emerged.

Business is business—bottom line profits decide success or failure. Bosses today manage agendas to keep shareholders happy—I believe journalist covertly or overtly do the same. Journalists today embrace the post-modern notion, “there is no objective truth.”¹⁹ This is an incredibly harsh notion in light of loyalty to the citizen. However, it is alive and well. The tensions pulling on this is bottom line advertising dollars and climbing the corporate ladder. A notable journalist illustrated this point when he said, “new reporters report not to report but to report in a manner that will help them advance up the ladder.”²⁰ Frankly, I think this prevails more now than it did years ago.

The pressure to conform comes from media owners who insidiously mold their editors. Why? As corporate America continues to consolidate, there are fewer entities that aren’t within corporate interests. When the CEO wants the newspaper to promote a particular story, position, or slant it is typically because it will enhance a possession of that company. This strategy increases the potential for survival through conglomeration but does nothing to ensure the citizen receives accurate and reliable information. So do reporters report based on what is newsworthy or one of marketing value? Unfortunately, I believe it’s marketing value.

Chasing market value to enhance the conglomeration or big business is alarming! When our founding fathers inked in the Constitution, the First Amendment talked to “...prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of the press...” so the common man could make educated decisions. Well, where are we now? Today, nine major corporations own or influence everything we see, hear, or read. This creates centralized control of the news and limited public access to essential facts that citizens must have to make decisions.²¹ New ideas or disagreement against corporate ties may not get the support of the newspaper. In fact, a *Washington Times* editor and a notable journalist firmly believe this will be the demise of the newspaper.²² Conglomerations like the AOL/Time Warner merger may be the New World order in business. The actual cost is the loss of expression, comment, and criticism among these conglomerates. The loyalty to the citizen clearly takes a back seat to the shareholder and advertisers.

So, what can you take from this discussion? First, I feel newspapers today don’t have the interests of the citizen at the forefront. Like any business, the newspaper must balance competing priorities. For the newspaper, this is dynamic balancing the First

Amendment with the bottom line—profit margin. Second, the PEJ must institutionalize its initiatives to ensure success of the news media in general—the public must remain informed of every side of the story.

Colonel Mike Spencer, USAF

Media Assistance to Emerging Nations: A Brief Overview

No nation was more surprised than the U.S. by the rapidity with which the Soviet Union came unraveled following the fall of the Berlin Wall in October of 1989. Within a year, consternation and pragmatic concern replaced the western industrialized nations' exuberance and delight that had accompanied the "fall of the wall," marking the end of the cold war. The sheer magnitude of the nation-building tasks required to transform the former Soviet Union's failed states into self governing, self sufficient states was simply overwhelming; virtually every aspect of state development and sufficiency needed to be systematically addressed. Accordingly, a number of public and private initiatives were underwritten by the U.S., as well as the world's other industrialized nations, to set the rebuilding process in motion. Part and parcel of these efforts was the decision to develop cultural acceptance and establishment of a free and independent news media early on.²³

That effort began in earnest when then Secretary of State James Baker declared the U.S.'s intent to underwrite independent news media development efforts in Central and Eastern Europe in a speech he delivered during a visit to Prague in 1990. That announcement gave birth to the International Media Fund (IMF), the first serious effort to develop a systematic approach to providing news media assistance to newly emerging nations. The IMF was wholly funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the State Department (State) and managed by an experienced staff of journalists, editors, and publishers. Initially, the IMF focused its attention on establishing independent print and broadcast media in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. In 1995, the IMF was succeeded by several USAID competitive bid successor PROMEDIA grant programs, which awarded \$19 million to the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) for print news media efforts and \$120 million to Internews for radio and television news broadcast development. These efforts were expanded to include more of the newly emerging nations within Central and Eastern Europe.²⁴

As USAID and State interest in and funding of news media development and other nation-building efforts increased, that interest spurred a virtual cottage industry of nation-building experts and organizations vying for the award of lucrative grants. According to one author who has studied the growth in USAID democracy assistance funding, that growth has increased from \$165 million in 1991 to \$637 million in 1999.²⁵ Although news media assistance is but one small part of the overall nation-building effort, there are presently 77 different media assistance organizations competing for federal funding.²⁶

Those facts alone are amazing, but perhaps more astounding is that private sources (individual donors, nongovernmental organizations (NGO's), and private foundations) are a larger source of funding annually than the federal government. There is no way of capturing precisely how much money the private sector has spent on nation-building efforts in general or on news media assistance efforts in particular, but there are

examples. The largest individual donor by far is George Soros, a Hungarian born billionaire investor. He provides funding for nation-building activities through a network of private foundations and programs—his network has donated nearly \$2 billion between 1996 and 1999.²⁷ It would be impossible within the confines of this brief essay to name the literally hundreds of other notable NGO's and individuals who have contributed millions of dollars to news media assistance projects throughout the world. However, if you are interested in learning more, look at the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) website or visit any one of the 76 other similar organizations traceable through the ICFJ website to see the listings of those donors.²⁸ There is also a host of multilateral news media assistance efforts, i.e., United Nations, European Union, and Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development among others.²⁹ Further, there are a number of nations, i.e., Britain, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, as well as others, participating in nation-building and news media assistance efforts.

Surprisingly, the fundamentals of a free and independent media that are emphasized by the respective training organizations regardless of nationality are those of: editorial independence; diversity; plurality of voices; fairness, accuracy, and balance in reporting; serving the public interest; financial viability; and accountability.³⁰ The largest differences among training programs seem to revolve around the issues of media culture “need to know” versus “need to share” access to information and openness or “transparency” of government to media scrutiny models and fact-based versus opinion-based reporting styles. The U.S. model reflects the “need to share” access to information and fact-based reporting methods more so than the British “need to know” access to information or the French opinion-based reporting models.³¹

While Central and Eastern Europe account for the largest share of media assistance training efforts and funding, Africa (primarily South Africa), Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East are beginning to receive increased attention.³² According to one media assistance expert, it is believed that the next big push for media assistance training efforts and funding will be Southeast Asia and Indonesia.³³ While USAID and State funding efforts remain focused on Central and Eastern Europe, U.S. private and international donors are increasingly focusing their efforts on other parts of the world.³⁴

Perhaps the greatest surprise in researching the history of media assistance to date was the fact that most of the funding expenditures go to the purchase of equipment and training materials; training manpower is provided almost entirely by journalists, broadcasters, and editors who volunteer their time and expertise. While their reasons for doing so vary, the primary reason for volunteering expressed by all was the shared belief that “there can be no freedom without a free press.” After interviewing many such “volunteers,” it is apparent that there is a breed of media experts who believe so strongly in the importance of a free and independent media that they are, like the military, prepared to sacrifice their lives in order to advance the cause of freedom.³⁵

Is news media assistance training and funding worth the effort? During the course of our news media industry study travels, we met with a number of journalists, broadcasters, editors, and others who have received and benefited from news media assistance training. In every instance, they indicated how that training was being used to urge improvements on a national scale -- not just in terms of better and more profitable media enterprises, but in terms of more responsive and transparent national, regional, and local government.³⁶ The News Media Industry Study's conclusion is that U.S. public and private media

assistance initiatives, as well as multilateral and international media assistance efforts, are making a strategic difference and should be continued. Further, it is in the U.S.'s national security interest to maintain its leadership role in providing news media assistance to emerging nations throughout the world.

Colonel David Pointer, USA

Where Do People Get Their News?

Trends in the News Media Industry

Where do people in the United States get their news today? How has this changed over the years? Why has it changed? What does this mean for the future?

Understanding these trends can allow us to understand the American population and thus help us in the national security community formulate more effective public affairs strategies, and a national security strategy that reflects the interests of the public we serve.

We live in a multimedia news environment. News is still delivered in traditional media including newspapers, network television, radio broadcasts and news magazines, however, these choices have been expanded to include 24-hour cable and satellite news networks, new TV broadcast networks, public radio networks, and the Internet. In addition, there is a variety of news formats, including short "headline" news sources such as *CNN Headline News*, and the *USA Today* newspaper; and more in-depth discussion and analysis of news, such as that in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* newspapers, and prime time TV news shows such as *60 Minutes*, *20/20*, and *Dateline*. Radio has a similar variety of news formats.

With all these choices, where does the public get their news today? In a Gallup poll conducted from March 1998 to July 1999, the public was asked just that question.³⁷ It showed that in the July 1999 timeframe, people got most of their daily news from local newspapers, national nightly news, and local TV news, with between 52-58 percent of the people getting their daily news from these sources. However, the national nightly news viewership declined over 16 percent during this timeframe, while the local newspapers and TV news programs showed a moderate gain. The Pew Research Center conducted a similar study from May 1993 through April 2000.³⁸ While their data also showed that most people got their news from local TV, newspapers, and network news, their data showed a significant decline in consumption in these media over the longer 7-year period. Local TV news declined 21 percent in seven years (from 77 to 56 percent), while the nightly network news viewers were cut in half (from 60 to 30 percent). As the falloff in broadcast news occurred, the Internet news sources rose dramatically. From April 1998 to April 2000 online news consumption rose from 20 to 33 percent, while the broadcast news declined from 57 to 51 percent. The dynamics of the news industry has been undergoing a transformation in the past decade, and it is clear that it's not over.

Local television is the number one source of news for most Americans, but even so, it is losing its audience. In the early 1980s, the network channels of ABC, CBS, and NBC had a total of 92 percent of TV viewership. Now, with the spread of cable TV and additional networks such as FOX and Warner Brothers, the three major TV networks account for only 53 percent of TV viewership.³⁹ Television news is definitely on the

decline, especially broadcast news.⁴⁰ In 2000, only 55 percent of Americans reported watching the news or a news program “yesterday,” which is down from 59 percent in 1998 and 1996, and from a high of 74 percent as recently as 1994. So why is there such a big decline? In one survey, over a third of the respondents said it was because of time – either they were not home or were asleep when the news was on.⁴¹ Some other reasons had to do with content – such as too much crime and violence, which they found very stressful. Others thought local news was boring and irrelevant. There is also a viewer age difference evident in TV news viewers.⁴² Less young viewers watch the network or local news. This difference is much less severe for cable news networks.

Both the number of newspapers and their readership are also on the decline. The number of morning and evening newspapers has decreased from 1,772 in 1950 to 1,483 in 1999.⁴³ In addition, the number of towns with only one newspaper has increased dramatically; the percentage has risen from 43 percent in 1910, to 87 percent in 1940, to 98 percent today.⁴⁴ As a percentage of the adult population, weekday readers of newspapers have decreased from 77.6 percent in 1970 to 56.9 percent in 1999.⁴⁵ News magazines and radio have shown less change over the years. News magazines offer the public a much broader selection of news, and more in-depth coverage than any of the other media. However, because they are usually published weekly, they are not as timely as the TV, radio or Internet. The top three weekly news magazines in the US are *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *US News and World Report*. The circulations of these magazines have held steady, or have even increased slightly, because, according to one writer, they have been “customizing and diversifying its offerings.”⁴⁶

The number of radio stations in the US had a steady increase over the past 30 years.⁴⁷ There were 6,745 AM and FM stations in 1970 compared to 13,307 in 2000, with the growth occurring primarily in FM stations. However, the audience percentage listening to news radio stations has remained fairly constant since at least 1998. They enjoy about a 17.5 percent share of listeners, but 91 percent of these viewers are over 35 years old, with 37 percent of these over 65 years.⁴⁸ The young are not listening to news on the radio, nor watching it on network TV.

The explosion in news communications has really occurred in the Internet.⁴⁹ As of June 2000, nearly seven in ten Americans (68 percent) used a computer at least occasionally, up from 61 percent in 1998 and 58 percent in 1996. This growth has occurred during the same time that television viewership has declined. All the traditional segments of the news media are converging on the Internet. The name of the game in Internet news is immediacy, and tailored information-on-demand. In a six-month period from 1998 to 1999, the proportion of those online that have listened to radio stations over the Internet jumped from 18 percent to 27 percent; 13 percent of all Americans have listened to the radio on the Internet.⁵⁰ The traditional one-way news broadcasts, such as TV, radio and print, now have web sites that allow viewers to give their opinion or reaction to a broadcast or news article or even ask questions. They can even “chat” with other viewers or listeners on-line. Their input can become part of the news.

Clearly, the news media is in a state of transition. The public has many more choices for getting their news than ever before. Although some media such as broadcast and cable news are declining, others, especially the Internet, are increasing dramatically.⁵¹ The government needs to pay attention to these trends. It cannot afford to ignore any segment of the industry. It needs determine who its customers are and where they get

their news, and then get their story out through those media. It needs to learn how to use the news media, and all the tools and capabilities it now offers to interact with the public in a much more dynamic way. Public opinion and national will can be formed and assessed using all these tools.

Mary G. Forte

US FOREIGN POLICY, THE NEWS MEDIA AND HUMANITARIAN CRISES –WHO IS IN CHARGE?

If American policy from here on out, particularly policy involving the uses of our armed forces abroad, is to be controlled by popular emotional impulses, and particularly ones provoked by the commercial television industry, then there is no place not only for myself, but for what have traditionally been regarded as the responsible deliberative organs of our government.

George F. Kennan, after watching live coverage of American Troops going ashore in Somalia, 1993.⁵²

US FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

As we begin the 21st century, US national security strategy and foreign policy is in a state of evolution. The post-Cold War environment, one of global political and social unrest, involves hundreds of emerging nation-states, many locked in deadly nationalistic wars for power and self-determination. It is within this complex international context of regional wars and humanitarian crises that the US must define and execute its foreign policy. Yet, it is difficult to determine where US national security interests reside.

To accomplish this task the government must often rely on the news media - to obtain and disseminate timely information on world events, to market government policies, both domestically and abroad, and to garner the necessary popular support for humanitarian and military engagements. Yet, in the last decade, US foreign policy actions, particularly in dealing with humanitarian crises, have appeared indecisive, disparate, and intermittent. US responses to humanitarian crises have ranged from no involvement (Rwanda), to peacekeeping (Somalia), to armed intervention (Bosnia and Kosovo). This begs the question of who is determining US foreign policy. Is government setting policy or merely reacting to political pressures generated by the news media? How powerful is the “CNN effect”? Are the graphic real-time vignettes of global atrocities on the nightly news driving the government to respond to calls for action? Or has US involvement in humanitarian crises been consistent with a defined US foreign policy? What are the roles of government and the media, and who is controlling US foreign policy?

THE ROLES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND MEDIA IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The issue of who is controlling foreign policy has received considerable attention in recent years. Using the Gulf War as an example, control of foreign policy seemed to vacillate between the government and the media. Media credibility was also suspect. In

the early days preceding the war, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney said he turned to CNN to get much of his information on current actions in the Gulf region.⁵³ In contrast, during the war, the Commander of Allied Forces, General Norman Schwarzkopf, later revealed he “turned the TV off in headquarters very early on because the reporting was so inaccurate I did not want my people to get confused.”⁵⁴ Government policy can only be as good as the accuracy of the information upon which it bases its decisions.

When direct communications broke down between the Iraqis and American diplomats, CNN Chairman Ted Turner advised his Baghdad producer to intervene, “ We’re a global network ... if there’s a chance for peace ... it might come through us. Hell, both sides aren’t talking to each other, but they’re talking to CNN. We have a major responsibility.”⁵⁵ Rightly or wrongly, media felt it was its civic duty to intervene in foreign affairs, and it had the capability to do so.

FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In attempting to answer the question of who is setting US foreign policy, the government or the media, analysis by academia and media experts tends to center on several key issues. First, is government action due to policy or media influence? Second, does real-time media coverage of humanitarian crises cause politicians to take action? Third, how can government and the media more favorably manage future humanitarian crises?

Regarding the first issue, media coverage seems to have little influence on government decisions and actions in humanitarian crises when government has a clearly defined foreign policy, but does influence government action when policy is uncertain. In an article published in *The Journal of Peace* in 2000, a predictive "Policy-Media Interaction Model" was used to analyze media coverage and the US response in two separate humanitarian crises. One, the US decision to intervene to protect the Grozde 'safe area' in Bosnia in 1995 and the other, the US decision not to deploy ground troops or close air support to protect Albanian Kosovars in 1999.⁵⁶ The model indicated that critical media coverage and policy uncertainty following the fall of the Srebrenica 'safe area' prompted the US decision to defend Gorazde. In contrast, despite criticism and emotive coverage, the Clinton Administration did not intervene on the ground to stop the brutality and expulsion of Albanian Kosovars, but chose to continue its established policy - the bombing campaign to capitulate Milosevic.

This phenomenon of presence or absence of clear government policy, is a leadership factor, and is viewed by many as the true discriminator in determining whether media influences policy. As Johanna Neuman, former White House and chief diplomatic correspondent, current foreign editor of *USA Today*, and author of *Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International Politics?* points out, “Television only provides a lens. Leadership provides the focus.”⁵⁷ Peter Jennings of ABC News shares this view stating, “political leadership trumps good television every time. As influential as television can be, it is most influential in the absence of decisive political leadership.”⁵⁸

Concerning the second issue, politicians cannot escape the impact real-time television has on calls for action in times of humanitarian crises. “The lens of a single television camera ... often provides images that leave enduring impressions which no diplomatic

cable or military signal can ever convey.”⁵⁹ TV images of mass killings, starving children and massive refugee movements prompt governments to take emergency action, but this action is generally limited to financial aid and emergency humanitarian assistance (food, clothing and shelter). High stakes political decisions, to intervene militarily or to commit troops, generally are not affected by media images, but remain policy decisions undertaken when interventions are deemed to be short-term, have a high probability of success, and a low risk of casualties.⁶⁰

Lastly, addressing the third issue, the government and the media have an opportunity and an obligation to better influence and manage global humanitarian crises. In an article in the March/April 1997 issue of Foreign Affairs, Garrick Utley stated, that “Without stories from abroad that could be presented as part of an overall threat to American security, newscasts suffered a severe loss in an increasingly competitive medium that thrives--perhaps depends--on drama and conflict to attract and hold an audience’s attention.”⁶¹ The Commission on Global Governance also recognizes this emphasis on violence coverage, stating, “for most commercial networks, the precondition for coverage is crisis. There has to be large-scale violence, destruction, or death before the media takes notice.”⁶² It is this emphasis on the conflict phase of humanitarian crises, that many believe, perpetuates humanitarian conflicts. A recent article published in the Journal of Peace Research, entitled “Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect”, makes this point. The author finds that the focus on the conflict phase of humanitarian crises results in a tremendous outpouring of financial assistance during the period of news coverage, but once coverage stops, the financial and humanitarian interest also stops - adversely impacting funding support for long-term nation-building assistance projects. “As focus and funds follow the cameras, the 1990s have witnessed a transfer of resources from more cost-effective, long-term efforts directed at preventing violent conflict and rebuilding war-torn societies to short-term emergency relief.”⁶³ To effect positive long-term management of humanitarian crises, government and media must place more attention on the pre-conflict, negotiation phases, and the post-conflict, nation-building phases, so sustained political and economic support can better serve humanitarian needs.

CONCLUSION

The power of television, and the media as a whole, to bring the real issues of humanitarian crises to the American public cannot be underestimated. It is government’s obligation to set firm comprehensive foreign policy, and then fully use the media’s strong presence to educate the public on foreign affairs issues and government policies. In this manner, the government and the media can form a partnership for peace - jointly diffusing humanitarian crises, and positively shaping a global environment of stability, economic development and democracy.

Patti F. Wilmer

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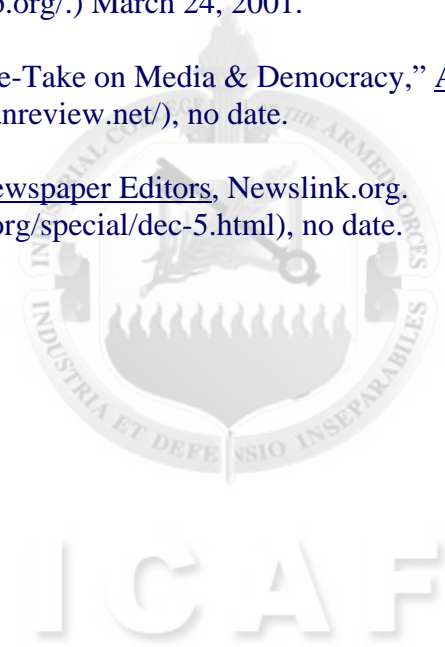
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²² Non-attributable Source, News Media Industry Study Interview, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, March 1, 2001.

²³ Thomas Carothers, “Aiding Democracy Abroad, The Learning Curve,” Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999, p. 29-53. (*It is important to note that several of the lead organizations in the provision of news media assistance existed well before the Berlin Wall fell. In fact, Carothers, as well as others, identifies three waves in aiding the cause of democracy abroad. The first wave occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, the second wave, the 1980s, and the third wave, the 1990s. However, substantial nation-building assistance funding and its identification as a U.S. National Security Strategy core objective did not occur until after the Berlin Wall fell and the passage of the Freedom Support Act in 1991, see 40-41.*)

²⁴ Gene Mater, Freedom Forum formerly an International Media Fund director, [(703) 284-3587] telephone conversation with author, Mar 22, 2001, 1550]; International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) Annual Report 1999, <http://www.irex.org/publications/annual-report/1999/media.htm>, 1; IREX Program Activities, <http://www.irex.org/programs/promedia/about/index.htm>, 1; Internews, <http://www.internews.org>.

²⁵ Ibid., Carothers (fn 1), 48-58.

²⁶ Whayne Dillehay [Vice President, International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) (202) 737-3700], telephone conversation with author, 20 Mar, 2001, 1530. *Mr. Dillehay is responsible for supervision of the center's staff and overseeing programs and operations.*

²⁷ National Foundations, George Soros Foundations Network, (<http://www.soros.org.osi.html>.) *Presently, there are Open Society Foundations, Funds or Institutes established in 34 nations throughout the world, with the largest concentration among nations in Central and Eastern Europe and Africa; National Foundations, George Soros Foundations Network, Biographical Information, 1, <http://www.soros.org/gsbion/index.html>. In fact, the network donated \$362 million in 1996, \$428 million in 1997, \$574 million in 1998, and \$560 million in 1999.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Mater (fn 2) and Dillehay (fn 4) conversations. Dr. Sherry Ricchiardi (Associate Professor of Journalism and Director of the Indiana University-Zabgreb University Resource Center (703) 760-4998), telephone conversation with author, 15 Mar 2001, 1900; Mr. Dennis Wendell (USAID (202) 712-5212), telephone conversation with author, 28 Mar 2001, 1010.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.* Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (<http://www.un.org/rights/50/decla.htm>), [“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”]; Article 19, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, http://www.pch.gc.ca/ddp-hrd/english/iccpr/CN_5.htm; OCSE [EU endorsed] Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, Jul 30, 1999 [“The Charter commits the countries of the region to: (a) defend freedom of expression and information; (b) encourage the development, both in the public and private sector, of media that is independent of governments and operates according to high standards of professional journalism and impartial and objective rules; and (c) provide a legal environment that is compatible with the needs of free and independent media. This appears to still be in draft form as opposed to final form, but it still serves as some evidence of the “universality of the tenets of a free media.”].

³¹ Nonattributable roundtable observations made by several prominent European news editors and journalists to the News Media Industry Study during the course of its international travels, May 5-18, 2001.

³² *Ibid.*, Carothers (fn 1), Mater (fn 2) conversations; Mr. Curtis “Curt” Huff (Office of Public Diplomacy, Africa and Central Asia, State Department (202) 619-5972), telephone conversation with author, 16 Mar, 2001, 1030.; Ms. Chris Miner (Office of Public Diplomacy, Central and E. Europe, State Department (202) 401-7342), telephone conversation with the author, 16 Mar 2001, 1225; Mr. Sam Wonder (Office of Citizens Exchanges, Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, State Department (202) 619-5348),

conversation with author, 15 Mar 2001, 1630. The State Department has a smaller budget that appears to be evenly spread regionally around the globe.

³³ Ibid. Dillehay (fn 4) conversation.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Mater (fn 2), Dillehay (fn 4), Ricchiardi (fn 6), Wendell (fn 6), Huff (fn 10), Miner (fn 10), and Wonder (fn 10) conversations.

³⁶ Ibid. (fn 9), nonattributable roundtable discussions.

³⁷ Gallup Poll, "Media Use and Evaluation," Online. Internet. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/indicators/indmedia.asp>. 24 March 2001.

³⁸ "Investors Now Go Online for Quotes, Advice: Internet Sapping Broadcaster News Audience," The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, (<http://people-press.org/media00sec1.htm>. 24 March 2001.)

³⁹ Eli M. Noam, "Media Concentration in the United States: Industry Trends and Regulatory Responses," Virtual Institutes of Information, Columbia Business School. 9 July 1999. Online. Internet. <http://www.vii.org/papers/medconc.htm>. 24 March 2001.

⁴⁰ The Pew Research Center.

⁴¹ "The Shrinking Audience for Local TV News," NewsLab Research, (<http://www.newslab.org/>.) March 24, 2001.

⁴² The Pew Research Center.

⁴³ "Facts About Newspapers: A Statistical Summary of the Newspaper Industry," Newspaper Association of America, Section 15. (<http://www.naa.org/info/facts00/index.html>.) March 24, 2001.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Noam.

⁴⁵ Newspaper Association of America, Section 6.

⁴⁶ David Abrahamson, "Magazines. A Past in Paper and a Future on the Web." Media Studies Journal, Volume 13, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1999.

⁴⁷ "Radio Today, How America Listens to Radio," Arbitron, 2000 Edition. (<http://www.arbitron.com/downloads/radiotoday00.pdf>.) March 24, 2001.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ The Pew Research Center.

⁵⁰ Joan Fitzgerald, “The Arbitron Internet Listening Study II: Radio and E-Commerce,” (<http://www.arbitron.com/downloads/E-Commerce.pdf>.) March 24, 2000.

⁵¹ The Pew Research Center.

⁵² Philip Seib, “Effects of Real-Time News Coverage on Foreign Policy,” The Journal of Conflict Studies, Vol. XX, No. 2, Fall 2000, p 5.

⁵³ Ibid, p 9.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p 7.

⁵⁶ Piers Robinson, “The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power During Humanitarian Crises”, Journal of Peace Research, Vol.37, No.5, 2000, p 613-631.

⁵⁷ Bill Kovach, “Do the News Media Make Foreign Policy?”, Foreign Policy, No.102, Spring 1996, p 173.

⁵⁸ Philip Seib, “Effects of Real-Time News Coverage on Foreign Policy,” The Journal of Conflict Studies, Vol. XX, No. 2, Fall 2000, p 9.

⁵⁹ Nik Gowing, “The One-Eyed King of Real-Time News Coverage”, New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 11 (Fall 1994), p 45.

⁶⁰ Peter Viggo Jakobsen, “Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect”, Journal of Peace Research, Vol.37, No.2, 2000, p 131.

⁶¹ Joelle Tanguy, “The Media and the Cycle of Humanitarian Crisis,” Tikkun, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan/Feb 1999, p 48.

⁶² Peter Viggo Jakobsen, “Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect”, Journal of Peace Research, Vol.37, No.2, 2000, p 132.

⁶³ Ibid, p 131.